SENATE HISTORY

Senate Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

July 1978

Conference on Senators' Papers Announced

During 1978 alone, United States senators will accumulate more papers in the form of legislative and constituent service files than their predecessors in 1948 would have amassed in their entire careers. As the volume of senators' office and personal files has grown dramatically, senators, their staffs, archivists, and historians have found it increasingly difficult to control and use these papers. Unfortunately, as office and storage space becomes more scarce and more costly, pressures increase to destroy or radically reduce the volume of file material.

On September 14-15, 1978, the Senate will sponsor a conference on the "Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers." Among the distinguished historians, political scientists, and archivists who will meet in the Caucus Room of the Russell Senate Office Building to examine these problems will be:

Gilbert Fite, Richard Russell Professor of History, University of Georgia
Lynn Wolf Gentzler, Senior Manuscript Specialist, University of Missouri, Columbia
Robert Griffith, Professor of History, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
James W. Hilty, Professor of History, Temple University
William E. Leuchtenburg, De Witt Clinton Professor of History, Columbia University
Richard Lowitt, Professor of History, Iowa State University
Lydia Lucas, Head of Technical Services, Minnesota Historical Society
Frank Mackaman, Archivist, Everett M. Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center
Daniel J. Reed, Assistant Archivist for Presidential Libraries, National Archives and Records Service
Samuel A. Sizer, Curator, Special Collections, University of Arkansas
Robert M. Warner, Director, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
David Wigdor, Specialist in Twentieth Century Political History, Library of Congress

In addition to these speakers and panelists, staff members from congressional offices will also participate.

Panelists will prepare brief position statements for distribution to participants and observers, available through the Senate Historical Office after September 1, 1978.

From 9:30 until noon on Thursday, September 14, selected panelists and Senate staff will present introductory statements of problems and possible remedies. In the afternoon, small working groups composed of panelists and interested observers, will meet to discuss specific guidelines for senators and the institutions that receive their papers. On the following morning there will be an opportunity for general discussion and a review of conclusions reached by the working groups.

The conference is open, without registration fee, to Senate and House members and staff, students, and all others concerned with the preservation and use of congressional papers. Seating is limited. Those who plan to attend are advised to make reservations with the Senate Historical Office. Conference proceedings will be published early in 1979.

INSIDE:

- **Problems posed by senators' papers**
- **Guide to locations of senators' papers**
- **Deeds of Gift**
- **Oral history**
- **Senate bibliography**
- **Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series"**

5940-3

Problems Posed by Senators' Papers

In preparation for the fall conference on senators' papers, the Senate Historical Office surveyed fifty institutions which have received large senatorial collections over the past twenty-five years. The responses revealed many mutual problems, with sharp disagreement on some solutions, and unanimity on others.

Some archivists questioned whether former senators' papers should be preserved at all, claiming that senatorial collections tend to take up space far out of proportion to their value. Other archivists, however, stated that Senate collections were among their most valuable holdings. One writer noted that "Researchers have come here from all over the country and have produced three biographies and numerous theses, dissertations, and articles," from just one Senate collection.

Most agreed that the "sheer bulk of such papers is overwhelming." One institution received 59,000 pounds of a former senator's papers in one afternoon! The question of how to reduce bulk without diminishing the usefulness of the papers provoked a great variety of responses ranging from the "save it all for who are we to say what future generations will need" school to the "we have got to make some educated guesses because we can not afford to store and process this bulk and its vastness will intimidate and put off prospective researchers" school. Suggestions varied from microfilming and then throwing away originals, to weeding out and discarding large amounts of material deemed useless, though few could agree on what materials really were without value. One institution suggested discarding "military academy appointments, mail requesting farm bulletins and congressional handbooks, flags, autographs, photographs, and biographies, high school graduation congratulatory letters, letters by school children, unorganized clippings, campaign speeches that are approximately the same, page applications, and all duplicate publications."

According to most respondents, constituent mail presents the most difficult problems, not only in bulk but in confidentiality. Some institutions suggested sampling these files, but a reliable method seems elusive. Others suggested discarding all such files, keeping only tallies of pro and con mail for certain issues. Still others claim that constituent files "are among the most potentially useful elements in congressional papers." Several concluded that privacy considerations prevented them from admitting researchers to these files under any circumstances.

With one voice, respondents pleaded for "consistency in filing from year to year," and begged Senate office staffs not "to change filing systems in mid-stream." They urged senators not to wait until retirement but to select early in their career the final resting place for their papers and to make that choice carefully, keeping in mind the extent of an institution's resources for processing large collections of records.

It is hoped that these responses will stimulate informed discussion at the fall conference, speaking to the needs of Senate offices, the institutions to which senators' papers may eventually be sent, and the researchers who will eventually use them.

Catalog of Locations of Former Senators' Papers

Where are the papers of former United States senators? For the average researcher the answer could require a monumental piece of detective work. Collections are scattered across the country, in home state libraries and historical societies, and at alma maters far from the state from which the senator served. The papers of Henry Clay can be found in dozens of institutions; while those of Joseph Robinson (Majority Leader during the New Deal) reached a library only last year -- forty years after the senator's death.

To assist in the search, the Senate Historical Office has conducted a survey of locations of all senators' papers. In the course of this project, numerous guides and catalogs to collections were examined to determine the size, scope, and accessibility of senatorial papers located in each of the fifty states. Follow-up correspondence with each of the repositories will verify and update this information prior to publication of a comprehensive guide book in 1979.

Preliminary Guides Now Available

Until the completion of a comprehensive printed guide, several preliminary guides to the locations of senators' papers are available for interested researchers. One lists the 194 senators who left office between 1789 and 1815. Another includes the 235 who departed from the Senate between 1947 and 1978. Both guides list senators by state and in chronological order by the year in which their service ended. The citations are limited to the principal collections for each.

Similar guides for the years between 1816 and 1946 will be available shortly. Copies can be obtained, at no cost, from the Senate Historical Office.

Sample Deeds of Gift Available

For the benefit of institutions which anticipate receiving a senator's papers and senators considering making such a donation, the Historical Office has assembled a selected file of deeds of gift. These deeds indicate how various former senators and repositories have worked out questions of confidentiality, access, and publication rights. Copies are available on request.

Oral History and the Senate

United States senators nearing the end of their public careers are very much in demand as subjects for oral history interview projects. Requests come from a variety of institutions including the universities or historical societies to which senators donate their papers, or from such large scale undertakings as the Columbia University and the Former Members of Congress programs. Oral history provides senators the opportunity to "set the record straight" from their individual perspectives with the assurance that the resulting tapes and transcripts will remain closed for a specified "cooling off" period. Under these ground rules, the interviewee is free to be as candid and reflective as possible.

A good interview can serve as an indispensable research source, enriching and clarifying the written record for biographers, historians, and political scientists. A poorly-conducted interview, on the other hand, may have the doubly adverse effect of leaving an incomplete record and making the senator and his associates unwilling to accept further oral history requests. The Senate Historical Office has prepared guidelines for distribution to those conducting interviews with United States senators.

The Historical Office has limited its own oral history program to long-term Senate staff members. Ideal candidates are those whose service has spanned more than two decades and whose experience has included work on committee staffs as well as with individual senators. The central theme of the Historical Office's project is the Senate's institutional development in the post World War II period. In 1979, the Library of Congress and other appropriate research centers will receive the first series of Historical Office interview transcripts. Currently completed transcripts range in length from seventy-five to two hundred pages.

Recent Senate Biographies

During the preparation of *The United States Senate: A Historical Bibliography*, in 1977, the sparcity of current literature on the history of the Senate became evident to the compilers. While political scientists continue to write about the current activities of Congress, historians have not generally chosen to focus on the Senate's institutional development.

The chief exception has been the interest of political historians in senatorial biography. Within the past year, three useful studies appeared analyzing the careers of three very different Senators. Anne Hodges Morgan, formerly of the Congressional Research Service, has written a sympathetic account of Oklahoma's Robert S. Kerr (D-1949-63), the "uncrowned king of the Senate" (*Robert S. Kerr, The Senate Years*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977; 337 pp.). A member of the "Class of '48," Kerr rose to influence on the Senate Finance Committee, leaving his legislative imprint on medicare, Social Security, oil and gas regulation, and other key issues of the 1950's and early 1960's.

Two progressive Republicans from an earlier generation have also found biographers. Herbert F. Margulies traced the career of Senator Irvine L. Lenroot (R-WI-1918-27), a "La Follette man" who labored for agricultural credits legislation, the St. Lawrence Seaway, and internationalist foreign policy in an isolationist era (*Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin, A Political Biography, 1900-1929*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1977; 423 pp.). Lenroot's better known Senate colleague, Robert M. La Follette, Jr., (Progressive-WI-1925-47), was the subject of a recent volume by Patrick J. Maney (*"Young Bob" La Follette, A Biography of Robert M. La Follette, Jr., 1895-1953*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978; 338 pp.). In 1925, when "Fighting Bob" La Follette died, his thirty year old son and namesake inherited his Senate seat and his reputation as a reformer. "Young Bob" became a superior senator, an important figure in the New Deal-era Senate, and author of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946; but he was not by nature a politician, and "strained heavily under the burdens of public life" until his defeat and tragic death.

Copies of *The United States Senate: A Historical Bibliography*, containing one thousand citations to books, articles, and dissertations on the Senate, its procedures, powers, and members, are still available through the Senate Historical Office, without cost.

Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series"

Members of the committee clearly were troubled that the United States ran a risk of "excessive involvement" in "that enormous region," but the Secretary of State assured them the administration had made no final decision on "just what we will do there, how much we will want to commit in the way of resources to that area." The year was 1955 and John Foster Dulles was testifying before an executive session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on American policy toward South Vietnam, following the collapse of French colonial rule. The Indochina problem, the aftermath of the war in Korea, and the hot war between mainland China and Taiwan over the off-shore islands, were all major topics of discussion at the committee's closed door hearings in 1955, which have recently been released in Volume 7 of the Foreign Relations Committee's "Historical Series."

Begun in 1973, as part of a general program of declassifying the committee's historical records, the series has opened to researchers important dialogues between the Senate and the Truman and Eisenhower administrations, and has helped to clarify the effect of the legislative process in shaping American foreign policy. A recent review in the *Journal of American History* noted that "historians have had far too few sources from the Senate side; almost all the material has come either from presidential or Department of State sources. The role of the foreign relations committees has too often been obscured, and this series should help to correct that situation."

Copies of Volume 7, and of previous volumes in the series, may be obtained without cost from the Foreign Relations Committee. Volume 8, covering the Suez Canal crisis and Hungarian revolution of 1956, is scheduled for publication later this year.

On a related note, the out-of-print eight volume topical series of Foreign Relations Committee 1947-51 executive sessions, covering such specific issues of the early Cold War as the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and Vandenberg Resolution, has recently been reprinted by Garland Press.

Senate Record Holder

Of the thirteen women who have served as senators since 1922, Rebecca Latimer Felton (D-Georgia) holds three Senate records. She was the first woman senator; her tenure was the shortest (one day); and at the age of eighty-seven she was the oldest person ever to enter Senate service.

Her appointment in October 1922 was intended as a good-will gesture by Georgia governor Thomas Hardwick, to redeem his earlier opposition to the Woman Suffrage Amendment. Hardwick sought (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to win support of newly-enfranchised women voters in a forthcoming special election to fill the Senate vacancy. Contrary to Governor Hardwick's intentions, Mrs. Felton refused to view her appointment as an empty gesture, and insisted on presenting herself at the Senate Chamber on November 20 to take the oath. After a day of procedural uncertainty, Mrs. Felton became Senator Felton and served until November 22, when, in compliance with Senate rules, she stepped aside for her elected successor, Walter George. Senator Felton died seven years later at the age of ninety-four.

The Distinguished Senator From Illinois, Minnesota and Missouri

Though he eventually won the distinction of being the only senator to represent three different states, James Shields' Senate career got off to a rocky start. Born in Ireland and emigrating to the United States in 1823, Shields settled in Illinois and was elected to the United States Senate as a Democrat in 1849. His eligibility was questioned on the grounds that he had not been a United States citizen the requisite nine years at the time of his election and Shields was denied his seat. The people of Illinois again elected him for the same term and he triumphantly claimed his seat on October 27, 1849, seven days after the ninth anniversary of his naturalization. He served until 1855 when he was not reelected.

Shields, then, moved to Minnesota where in 1858 he was elected as one of that state's first two senators. This time his election was challenged on the grounds that Minnesota had not been a state at the time of his election. The Minnesota delegation was finally seated and Shields served until 1859 when, again, he was not reelected.

After the Civil War, Shields moved first to California, then Wisconsin, and finally Missouri, where he was again elected to the Senate to fill a vacancy. He served from January 27 until March 3, 1879, but this time declined to run for reelection. Shields, certainly the most persistent senatorial candidate, died later that year in Missouri.

SENATE HISTORY

Senate Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 2051
[redacted] May, 1979
Number 2

Conference On Senators' Papers

In recent years senators, their staffs, archivists, and historians increasingly have become sensitive to the problems associated with the dramatic growth in the volume of senatorial office files. Among each of these groups there has been active debate on the most effective methods for disposition and the ultimate historical research value of senators' papers. Some believe these records will be valuable sources for the study of American political culture and urge their retention. Others, convinced that these papers will add nothing that can not be found more easily elsewhere, urge their destruction. In the face of rising staff processing and storage costs, most agree that a careful reexamination of these issues is essential.

To focus and sharpen the debate and to provide guidance for its current members, the Senate, in September 1978, hosted a Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers. For a day and a half, panels of historians, archivists, and Senate staff explored common interests from a variety of perspectives. As the discussion among the two hundred and fifty participants proceeded, outlines of consensus emerged and changes in attitudes became apparent.

Historians who preferred saving everything, and archivists, who insisted on having the final determination about what to discard, were challenged by Senate staff, who cited mail deliveries to individual senators' offices of as many as 1,500 pieces per day. They argued that the sheer volume of mail and internally produced file material forced quick disposal of less significant items. Current senators accumulate more papers in a single year than senators serving thirty years ago amassed during their entire political careers. Concerned about effective access to this vast storehouse of data, conferees devoted considerable attention to the implications of information storage and retrieval technology, as currently applied to senators' papers.

Although the conference focused principally on the questions of research use and disposition, the related issues of ownership and access also arose. There appeared to be general agreement that a continuation of control by individual senators of their own records, coupled with clear guidelines recognizing scholarly needs, and public pressure for full disclosure, would effectively serve the same ends as public ownership.

Participants urged senators to retain control over the official files of their principal staff aides, many of whom currently remove their papers upon leaving the Senate. Senators were further advised to make a commitment early in their careers to donate their papers to a homestate library or archive. A number of speakers strongly suggested that senators consider, in selecting a repository, its proximity to universities with graduate programs, and its complementary collections of the records of other public officials.

Conferees called for the Senate to provide a small processing grant to each of its members. Chiefly, this would allow historians or archivists associated with the receiving institution to visit the senator's Washington office periodically, to become better acquainted with his working style, office environment, and filing systems. It was suggested that the close relationship between the senator and repository, fostered by such advance planning, promotes smoother transfer of records and helps avoid unreasonable restrictions.

Emerging from these discussions was a call for the Senate Historical Office, working with representatives of the historical and archival communities, to develop clear guidelines governing th timing, format, and extent of senatoria records disposition.

Copies of conference proceeding will be mailed at the end of May to a attendees and others who have re quested them from the Senat Historical Office.

Locations of Papers of Members Who Left the Senate Between January 3, 1977 and January 2, 1979

Twenty-four senators left th Senate during, or at the close of, th 95th Congress. All but two of them hav chosen repositories and made plans fo their papers' preservation. The follow ing list indicates where the most recen group of senators' papers will b housed:

ALABAMA
James Allen, Alabama Department of Archives and History
Maryon Allen, Alabama Deparment of Archives and History
John Sparkman, University of Alabama

ARKANSAS
Kaneaster Hodges, Personal custody
John McClellan, Ouachita Baptist College

COLORADO
Floyd Haskell, University of Colorado

IOWA
Dick Clark, University of Iowa

KANSAS
James B. Pearson, University of Kansas

MAINE
William Hathaway, Personal custody

MASSACHUSETTS
Edward Brooke, Library of Congress

MICHIGAN
Robert Griffin, Central Michigan University

MINNESOTA
Wendell Anderson, Minnesota Historical Society
Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Historical Society
Muriel Humphrey, Minnesota Historical Society

(cont. on next page)

S940-4

MISSISSIPPI
James Eastland, University of Mississippi
MONTANA
Paul Hatfield, University of Montana
Lee Metcalf, Montana Historical Society
NEBRASKA
Carl Curtis, Nebraska State Historical Society
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Thomas McIntyre, University of New Hampshire
NEW JERSEY
Clifford Case, Rutgers University
OKLAHOMA
Dewey Bartlett, University of Oklahoma
SOUTH DAKOTA
James Abourezk, University of South Dakota
VIRGINIA
William Scott, George Mason University
WYOMING
Clifford Hansen, University of Wyoming

Guidelines For Senators In Establishing A Records Disposition Program

Participants in the Conference on Senators' Papers did not attempt to formulate a set of recommendations. A pattern of agreement however, did emerge from the deliberations and is reflected in the following guidelines prepared for the use of current senators.

1) Conduct an informal survey of library and archival facilities, likely to be interested in accepting the collection, keeping in mind whether the institution has:

- ☐ adequate funding and a professionally trained staff.
- ☐ adequate research facilities and an accessible location.
- ☐ close ties to university graduate faculties in history, political science, and other disciplines related to the senator's career interests.
- ☐ sufficient storage space.
- ☐ papers of other members of Congress.
- ☐ a strong collection of government documents including congressional publications.
- ☐ programs to stimulate the research use of its collections (travel grants, exhibits, etc.).
- ☐ a location in, or close to, the senator's home state.
- ☐ experience in handling records of a potentially sensitive nature.
- ☐ reading equipment for microfilm and computer tapes/discs, compatible with that of the senator's office.

2 Appoint a senior staff person to coordinate planning. Designate a "records manager/archivist" to control flow of office files. This person would be responsible for file arrangement, weeding, and transfer.

3 Consider a cooperative arrangement with the receiving institution to bring a member of its professional staff to Washington periodically to assist in the organization for shipment of non-current office files. This step will improve communication between the Washington staff and the archive to ensure effective processing and use of the collection.

4 Develop a plan for microfilming records, especially those of uniform size and format that have a logical and chronological relationship to one another (press releases, speeches). Keep in mind that although researchers consider microfilm as preferable to having no documents at all, they complain that it inhibits rapid skimming, tends to distort the original relationship of file material and leads to eyestrain. When time is limited, researchers will use paper documents in preference to microfilm.

5 Establish a program to reduce the bulk of non-current records. The following categories may be included in a disposal plan approved in advance by the senator:

- ☐ duplicate copies of speeches, bills, reports, etc.
- ☐ "orchestrated" pressure mail (with the office keeping a count of pieces received).
- ☐ printed congressional documents normally found in governmental depository libraries.
- ☐ service academy appointments.
- ☐ requests for government publications, flags, photos, etc.
- ☐ routine congratulatory messages (high school graduates, newly naturalized citizens, etc.).
- ☐ letters from school children.
- ☐ page applications.
- ☐ job applications and resumes.
- ☐ requests for assistance in immigration cases, securing visas, passports, military transfers and promotions.
- ☐ veterans files.
- ☐ "crank" files.
- ☐ awards, plaques, and other memorabilia.
- ☐ unorganized clippings.
- ☐ office operation files (requests for equipment, phone bills, etc.).

6 Agree, in principle, to the terms of transfer and access before shipping records. Consider that records should be opened for research use at the earliest date consistent with personal privacy and national security considerations. The following points should be addressed in a deed of gift:

When will the collection be open to research?
—as soon as processing is completed, with the exception of "sensitive" materials?
—upon the senator's death?
—within a specified period after the senator leaves office?

Who will control access to "sensitive" materials?
—the library/archive?
—the senator or his or her heirs?
—a board composed of the senator (or representatives of the senator's family), the library/archive, and faculty?

Who owns the records?
—a deposit agreement with a statement of intent to transfer legal title at a specific future date or upon the donor's death?
—an outright gift, transferring legal title to the repository? Copyright and literary property rights may also be assigned, but such transfer must be stated explicitly. Control of these rights is legally separate from the ownership of the material object in which the work is embodied.

What will happen to records and publications the library/archive does not wish to retain?
—blanket authority to destroy, or otherwise dispose of is given by the donor?
—donor will be notified of materials to be discarded with the option of having them returned, or destroyed?

7 Prepare a disposition plan reflective of the senator's explicit wishes. the plan should specify:
—which files are to be considered permanent;
—which can be discarded or weeded, and when;
—when files are to be considered "non-current" and thus, subject to transfer (i.e. during the 96th Congress, all files for the 94th and earlier Congresses).

The Arthur E. Scott Photographic Collection

Through a generous gift of Grace L. Scott, the Senate Historical Office has acquired the large photographic collection of the late Arthur E. Scott. Estimated at some 20,000 black and white prints of senators, the Capitol and its surroundings, along with assorted memorabilia, the Scott collection has enriched the office's photographic source material and advanced its program to compile a photographic record of the Senate's history.

"Scotty," as he was known widely on Capitol Hill, first came to cover the Congress in 1935 as a photographer for the *Washington Times*. Later he worked for the International News Service and the United Press International. In 1955, he became the photographer for the Republican Senatorial Committee where he served for the next twenty years. During his last year with the Senate, he was appointed to the post of Photohistorian within the Senate Historical Office. There he set to work on a project he had advocated for many years -- collecting a likeness of every person who had served as a United States senator. His collection reflects the entire forty-year span of Scott's association with Congress, although the largest share of photos represent the last decade of his service.

Materials from the Scott collection, as well as other photographs of senators, committees, and the Capitol, are available for individual researchers as well as for official Senate publications. For photographs of currently serving senators, researchers are advised to contact the individual senators' offices.

Recent Senate-Related Books

The history of the United States Senate continues to provide themes for current literature, biography and political analysis. In recent months a number of new books have appeared that are worthy of notice.

In biography, Irving H. Bartlett has written a major study of *Daniel Webster* (New York: Norton, 1978, 333 p.), one of the first to explore Webster's personal life as well as public career. The leading political events of his time are condensed, but vividly narrated. The book's central focus rests on the contradictions between the "God-like Daniel," guardian of the Union and Constitution, and "Black Dan" with his personal ambitions and financial difficulties.

Two major New Deal-era senators have been the subjects of new biographies. Martha Swain's *Pat Harrison. The New Deal Years* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1978, 316 p.), is a well documented account of the Mississippi senator who served as Finance Committee chairman from 1933 to 1941. Pat Harrison is presented as a leading force within the Senate for shaping New Deal legislation. Richard Lowitt has completed the third and final volume in his biography of Nebraska Republican *George W. Norris: The Triumph of a Progressive, 1933-1944* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978, 493 p.). This extensively researched work provides a wealth of information on the development of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in which Norris was the guiding force, and on the political climate of the age.

For the two decades following 1954, former Senator Norris Cotton (R-NH) has provided a useful survey of the Senate's development in the pages of *In the Senate: Amidst the Conflict and Turmoil* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1978, 239 p.).

Less biography than personal account, Bernard Asbell has written *The Senate Nobody Knows* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1978, 446 p.), a diary of his association with Senator Edmund Muskie, from May 1975 until October 1976. A thoughtful insider's account, Asbell's book looks at the Senate essentially from a staff member's perspective. In this regard, it serves as a useful companion study for Susan Webb Hammond and Harrison Fox, Jr.'s *Congressional Staffs* (New York: The Free Press, 1977, 227 p.), an analysis of staff members in both the House and Senate, and their role in the legislative process, drawn largely from questionnaires and quantitative study.

Two recent novelists have also chosen the Senate for their setting. Lawrence Meyer's *False Front* (New York: Viking Press, 1979, 264 p.), and Allen Drury's *Mark Coffin, U.S.S.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979, 343 p.), are both political fiction drawn by newspaper reporters who have covered the Senate, (Meyer for the *Washington Post*, and Drury for the *New York Times*). Drury's own diary, *A Senate Journal, 1943-1945* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972, Reprinted from 1963 edition, 504 p.), not only provides a colorful account of the Senate during those years, but give clues to the characters and situations from which he has drawn his many novels, from *Advise and Consent* to *Mark Coffin*. Meyer and Drury continue a long practice of Congressional reporters turning their experiences into political novels, dating back at least to 1871 when Samuel L. Clemens drew on his brief stint as a Washington correspondent and secretary to a senator for inspiration for his novel, *The Gilded Age*, published under his popular pseudonym of Mark Twain.

Complete Set of Preliminary Guides Available

A complete set of seven preliminary guides to the locations of former senators' papers is now available to interested researchers. In addition to the two previously announced guides covering senators who left the Senate between 1789 and 1815, and 1947 and 1978, guides for the following years have been prepared: 1816-1833, 1834-1867, 1868-1899, 1900-1932, and 1933-1946.

Citations are limited to the principal collections of each senator and have been gathered in the course of a comprehensive survey of all former senators' papers expected to be published in 1980. Copies of the seven guides can be obtained from the Senate Historical Office.

Foreign Relations Committee's Historical Series

Funding the Aswan Dam construction, seizure of the Suez Canal, the invasion of Egypt, and Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolt were all subjects of intense concern and debate in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's executive session hearings during 1956. The transcripts of these hearings have now been released in Volume VIII of the Committee's continuing "Historical Series."

Among the more dramatic revelations of the new volume is an indication that the United States had advance knowledge of the invasion of Egypt by the British, French, and Israelis. The attacks, which occurred on the eve of the American presidential election in 1956, were denounced by the Eisenhower administration. But in closed-door testimony, CIA Director Allen Dulles revealed that the United States was "quite well informed" on events leading up to the Israeli attack, "and we were not caught by surprise, from the intelligence angle, when the British and French forces moved in." When Senator Mike Mansfield quizzed Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr. about President Eisenhower's pre-election statements, which implied that the invasion of Egypt by three of America's closest allies had caught the administration by surprise, Hoover explained that the President meant only that "we had not been informed by them." Mansfield continued: "But then I would take it from what you and Mr. Dulles have said, we knew ahead of time, anyway." "We had a very good idea, Senator, yes," said Hoover, adding: "This was a very definite possibility in our minds, as long as thirty days or even longer ahead of time. . ."

Volume IX in the series, extensively covering the debate over the Eisenhower Doctrine of 1957, is expected to be ready for distribution this summer. Those interested in receiving the "Historical Series" should contact the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 4229 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., 20510.

Dueling Senators

While the pressures on United States senators have steadily mounted over the years, from larger constituencies, critical national issues, and electronic media coverage, in at least one respect the job has become less harrowing. Modern senators, unlike their nineteenth century predecessors, no longer feel obliged to honor the *code duello*, by which a gentleman could demand satisfaction from another for any stain, real or imagined, on his honor. Such satisfaction usually came from the barrel of a pistol. Early nineteenth century senators, who took offense and meted it out with equal ease, had to be prepared to settle their personal and political differences on the dueling grounds.

Prior to his entry into the Senate, William Crawford of Georgia had killed one man in a duel and was badly wounded in another. Former senator and vice president Aaron Burr became infamous when he killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel at Weehawken, New Jersey in 1804. Two years later, Andrew Jackson killed a man who had slandered his wife. Jackson and Thomas Hart Benton wounded each other in a duel years before they became allies in the Senate. Benton shot and killed another man in 1817. In 1845, Senator Thomas Clingman of North Carolina challenged Representative William Yancey of Alabama; both fired and missed.

The most famous Senate dueler was Henry Clay, who between terms in 1809 challenged former Kentucky Senator Humphrey Marshall to a duel in which both were wounded. In 1826, again between terms, Clay faced Senator John Randolph of Virginia. The Kentuckian fired and missed; Randolph then gallantly raised his pistol over his head and fired, sparing Clay.

Senator David Broderick of California was not so lucky. On September 16, 1859, he became the only U.S. Senator to die in a duel, after being shot by the former California Supreme Court Chief Justice, David Terry.

Broderick, a tough, self-made, New York Tammany regular, had migrated to California in 1848, when the Whig presidential victory created a flood of unemployed Democrats. Another emigrant that year was Congressman William Gwin of Mississippi, a patrician lawyer and physician. Gwin's "chivalry wing" opposed California's admission to the Union as a free state and stirred up pro-slavery sentiments, which Broderick's faction vigorously opposed. When California became a state in 1850, the legislature sent Gwin to the Senate, and sent Broderick to join him in 1857. Gwin supported the Buchanan administration, while Broderick allied himself with the Stephen Douglas wing of the Democratic party in opposition to the president. On the Senate floor, the two men constantly traded insults.

During the summer of 1859, the two senators returned to California to campaign for their favorite local candidates. One evening, in the midst of that bitter campaign, Broderick loudly told dinner companions that one of Gwin's closest allies, Chief Justice Terry, was corrupt and unfit for public service. When the hot-tempered Terry learned of the slander, he demanded satisfaction.

The day after the election, in which Broderick's forces were defeated, Terry resigned from the bench and challenged him to a duel. Their first attempt on September 12 was interrupted by the police, but the next morning at sunrise the two men faced each other on a secluded beach beside the Pacific. At the command to fire, Broderick prematurely touched the hair trigger, firing his bullet into the sand at Terry's feet. Terry cooly aimed, fired, and shot Broderick in the chest. Broderick was taken to a friend's home where for three days he lingered in great pain until his death.

Arrested and indicted, Terry was acquitted of murder, but eventually met a violent end himself. In latter years he became involved in litigation with United States Senator William Sharon of Nevada. When he lost his case, Terry charged the judge with venality and made threats against his life. In 1889 Terry came upon the judge in a hotel dining room and threatened him again. The judge's bodyguard thereupon shot and killed him.

SENATE HISTORY

Senate Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

November 1979
Number 3

Desks in the Senate Chamber

Visitors to the Senate galleries during a recent recess must surely have been puzzled at the sight of staff members armed with flashlights examining the desks in the Senate chamber. The Curator's and Historian's offices were compiling information on the history and lineage of each desk: when it was built, how it had been altered, and what senators had occupied it over the years.

Many of the desks date back to 1819 when an earlier chamber was reopened following its destruction by British troops. Then the Senate purchased forty-eight desks at a cost of thirty- four dollars each from Thomas Constantine, a New York cabinetmaker. During much of the nineteenth century, a senator's office was his desk on the Senate floor. Because space was always at a premium, the desks' capacity was increased with the addition of three-inch high mahogany writing boxes. These alterations began in the 1830's and continued over the next forty years until all but one of the desks had the hinged writing box attached on top. The exception was the Webster desk, which supposedly Daniel Webster refused to have altered on the grounds that if his predecessor could have done without the additional space, so could he. None of Webster's successors have seen fit to abandon that stance.

The Webster Desk

Other early desks also show specific design characteristics. The oldest desks have wooden inlays of circular and rectangular banding on their sides. "crotch veneer" mahogany across their front and narrow reeding at their feet. A desk's shape conformed to its position in the Senate chamber of 1819. Aisle desks were narrow and angled; those towards the center tended to be wider and squarer. If the original desks were placed back in their initial positions, they would form a perfect semicircle.

In the mid-nineteenth century mahogany shelves were added at the base of the desks. Later the legs of the desks were enclosed with a metal grille connected to a plenum chamber below the floor which provided better ventilation. The original inkwells were made of clear cut glass, covered with square, flat tops that moved horizontally. In 1933, what remained of the original inkwells were replaced by containers with hinged covers because duplicates of the earlier design were no longer being manufactured.

Although seven different numbering systems have been employed over the years, the easiest method for tracing the heritage of each desk is to read the names written and carved inside the desk drawers. This appears to be a twentieth century tradition, since, for the most part, the earliest recorded names date back only eighty years. It is possible that nineteenth century senators also inscribed their names in the desks, but that their names may have been lost during the refinishing of the drawers. Not all of the currently visible names were written by the

S940-5

senators themselves. Many have been copied by the same hand, indicating either that the older drawer bottoms were replaced and the names recopied, or that some staff member took responsibility for chronicling each desk's occupants. In later decades members of the Senate themselves have added their names to the lists of their predecessors.

One difficulty in tracing the names back into the nineteenth century is that the early Senate doorkeepers kept such information a closely guarded secret. Isaac Bassett, page and doorkeeper from 1831 through 1895, feared that relic hunters might destroy the furniture if they knew which pieces were Clay's, Calhoun's, and Webster's. In 1861, Bassett had stopped the mutilation of one of the chamber's most famous desks. When the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment was temporarily bivouacked in the Senate chamber during a recess, Bassett entered the chamber in time to hear the sound of splitting wood on the Democratic side. Rushing over he found a Union soldier bayonetting the desk vacated by Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy. "Stop that; stop that; what are you doing?" Bassett shouted. "That is not Jeff Davis' desk, it belongs to the Government of the United States. You were sent here to protect government property, and not to destroy it." Today a small block of wood inlaid on the left side of the desk covers the spot where the bayonet once struck.

The custom of dividing Senate desks by party is as old as the parties themselves, with Democrats traditionally sitting to the Presiding Officer's right and Republicans to his left. In the Old Senate Chamber, an equal number of desks were placed on either side of the aisle, without regard to party size. When one party elected more than half the senators, some majority party members had to sit on the minority side, usually along the center aisle and front row. When the Senate moved to its current, larger chamber in 1859, the practice developed of moving desks back and forth across the center aisle to permit all members of the majority party to sit together. From time to time, however, one party has elected such an overwhelming majority that it has again become necessary to have majority members sitting on the minority side. During the 60th Congress (1907-1909) ten Republicans sat with Democrats, while during the 75th Congress (1937-1939) thirteen Democrats sat with the Republicans. Such seating became known as the "Cherokee Strip," suggesting that the overflow of majority party senators were off their reservation.

The seating of the majority and minority leaders at the front row desks on either side of the center aisle is a relatively recent Senate tradition. In the nineteenth century, party leadership was not institutionalized. Certain senators were recognized as leaders for reasons of personal popularity and political skill, but were not elected to official posts by their parties. Henry Clay, for instance, who sat in a rear seat near an entrance to the chamber, where he could signal party members as they came in before a vote, vigorously denied that he was his party's floor leader. Not until the 1890's did the party caucus chairmen emerge as floor leaders, but they kept their regular seats. The front row desks went to senior senators, and for a number of years the front seat on the Republican side was held by Senator Robert La Follette, Sr., an insurgent who was frequently at odds with the majority of his party. Two earlier Democratic leaders, John T. Morgan in 1902 and Oscar W. Underwood in 1921, took the front row desk, but each contined to use it after his service as leader had ended. Not until Underwood left the Senate in 1927 did Democratic leader Joseph Robinson move to the front row desk, which he and his successors continued to hold. On the Republican side, the desk was held by senior senators until 1937, when Republican leader Charles McNary moved there and set the precedent which remains in effect today.

Thirty Longest Serving Senators

As of November 1, 1979

				Yrs.	Mos.
1.	Hayden, Carl T.	D-AZ	1927 - 1969	41	10
2.	Russell, Richard B.	D-GA	1933 - 1971	38	
3.	Warren, Francis, E.	R-WY	1890 - 1893		
			1895 - 1929	36	11
4.	Eastland, James O.	D-MS	1941		
			1943 - 1978	36	3
5.	McKellar, Kenneth	D-TN	1917 - 1953	35	10
6.	Smith, Ellison D.	D-SC	1909 - 1944	35	8
7.	Ellender, Allen J.	D-LA	1937 - 1972	35	7
8.	Allison, William B.	R-IA	1873 - 1908	35	5
9.	McClellan, John	D-AR	1943 - 1977	34	11
10.	Magnuson, Warren	D-WA	1944 - present	34	10
11.	Young, Milton	R-ND	1945 - present	34	7
12.	George, Walter	D-GA	1922 - 1957	34	1
13.	Aiken, George	R-VT	1941 - 1975	34	
14.	Borah, William E.	R-ID	1907 - 1940	32	10
15.	Byrd, Harry F., Sr.	D-VA	1933 - 1965	32	8
16.	Sparkman, John	D-AL	1946 - 1979	32	2
17.	Sherman, John	R-OH	1861 - 1877		
			1881 - 1897	32	
18.	Stennis, John C.	D-MS	1947 - present	32	11
19.	Morrill, Justin S.	R-VT	1867 - 1898	31	10
20.	Lodge, Henry C., Sr.	R-MA	1893 - 1924	31	8
21.	Hill, Lister	D-AL	1938 - 1969	31	
22.	Long, Russell	D-LA	1948 - present	30	9
23.	Frye, William P.	R-ME	1881 - 1911	30	4
24.	Morgan, John T.	D-AL	1877 - 1907	30	3
25.	Cockrell, Francis M.	D-MO	1875 - 1905	30	
26.	Cullom, Shelby M.	R-IL	1883 - 1913	30	
27.	Hale, Eugene	R-ME	1881 - 1911	30	
28.	Jones, John P.	R-NV	1873 - 1903	30	
29.	Simmons, Furnifold	D-NC	1901 - 1931	30	
30.	Smoot, Reed	R-UT	1903 - 1933	30	

Major Senatorial Collection Opens

The Special Collections Division of the University of Arkansas Library recently announced the opening of the papers of former Arkansas Senator Joseph T. Robinson (1872-1937). Received in 1976, the papers were processed with the help of a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The 216 feet of papers, covering 1900-1937, include correspondence, memoranda, speeches, legislative bills, business and financial records, legal files, scrapbooks, clippings, photographs, and other materials pertaining to the professional and political career of Robinson, with special emphasis on his Senate years, and service as Democratic floor leader from 1923 to 1937.

While limited restrictions apply to some materials, the majority of the Robinson papers are now open for research. Unpublished finding aids and an index to correspondents are available at the library in Fayetteville, Arkansas, 72701.

Call for Old Photographs

The Senate Historical Office is seeking donations of old Senate-related photographs. Of particular interest to the office are pre-1950 photographs of individual senators and pre-1970 pictures of committee meetings and other events associated with the Senate's past.

Conference on Congressional Leadership

The Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center and the Sam Rayburn Library are sponsoring a June 1980 conference entitled "Understanding Congressional Leadership: The State of the Art." To be held on June 10-11, 1980, in Washington, D.C., the conference will focus on four themes: Congressional Leadership in Historical Perspective; The Nature of Congressional Leadership in the 1970's; Congressional Leadership -- The View from Congress; and Congressional Leadership in the Public Eye. Those interested in delivering formal papers should submit a one-page abstract, not later than January 15, 1980, to the Dirksen Center. Participants are eligible to receive an honorarium, as well as travel and per diem expenses. For further information contact Frank H. Mackaman, Executive Director, The Dirksen Center, Pekin, Illinois, 61554 (309) 347-7113.

Floyd M. Riddick Oral History Opens

Floyd M. Riddick, creator of the *Congressional Record's* "Daily Digest" section, author of *Senate Procedure* and numerous other books and articles on the legislative process, and Parliamentarian-Emeritus of the United States Senate, recently completed an oral history for the Senate Historical Office. Copies of the 555-page transcript are available to researchers at the Senate Library, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the Richard Russell Library (University of Georgia), and the libraries of Dr. Riddick's alma maters, Duke and Vanderbilt.

Dr. Riddick was the second full-time parliamentarian in the Senate's history. In earlier years, senators served as their own parliamentarians and spent a considerable amount of time debating procedure. Throughout the nineteenth century, various clerks advised occasionally on parliamentary practice, but not until 1923 was the journal clerk, Charles Watkins, given the added title of "acting parliamentarian." As the legislative workload increased during the New Deal, the need for consistent, experienced parliamentary advice for th presiding officers, party leaders, an sponsors and opponents of specif bills, became evident. In 193 Watkins' two functions were separate making him the Senate's first offici parliamentarian.

As Watkins grew older, several senic senators became concerned over th continuity of his office, and created th office of assistant parliamentariar Floyd Riddick was appointed to tha post in 1951. He eventually succeede Watkins as parliamentarian in 1964 and served until his retirement in 1974 As Parliamentarian-Emeritus he re mains as a consultant to the Senat Committee on Rules and Administra tion.

During his interviews Dr. Riddicl reflected on his long career with th Senate, the development of th parliamentarian's office, and the majo issues with which he was involved, in cluding the long battles over filibuste and cloture rules, the McCarthy anc Dodd censures, the Durkin-Wyma contested election, and the planning fo an impeachment trial of President Nix on. Interspersed are his descriptions o senators and staff.

"I feel that the Senate has been ver good to me," Dr. Riddick noted in con cluding his oral history. "Through the long period that I've been here, only once did they vote to overrule the deci sion of the advice that I'd given to the Chair."

New Congressional Studies Center

On June 6, 1979, the Oklahoma Stat Legislature authorized the creation o the Carl Albert Congressional Researcl and Studies Center at the University of Oklahoma. The Center is comprised of the University of Oklahoma Congressional Archive and the Carl Albert Program in Congressional Studies within the university's department of political science. The Center plans to expand its archive, which currently houses the papers of eleven United States senators and twenty-five members of the House of Representatives and to organize a doctoral program in congressional studies. It also proposes to sponsor a series of conferences, lectures, and publications. For further information contact Professor Ronald M. Peters, Jr., Director, Carl Albert Congressional Research and Studies Center, Norman, Oklahoma, 73019.

New Books

Two recent books about former Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley underscore a limitation common to many senatorial manuscript collections. James K. Libbey's *Dear Alben: Mr. Barkley of Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1979), is a general biography of Barkley, condensed into 119 pages and confining its treatment of his Senate career to two chapters. In contrast, Polly Ann Davis' *Alben W. Barkley: Senate Majority Leader and Vice President* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), an unrevised 1963 doctoral dissertation, begins with Barkley's 1937 election as majority leader and focuses on his pattern of legislative leadership. Discounting the press image of "Bumbling Barkley," Davis portrays the Kentucky senator as a patient, good-humored, and cagy legislative tactician, whose abilities were most evident during the debate over World War II military and foreign policy issues.

Both Barkley books reflect the weaknesses of the Barkley papers at the University of Kentucky. While the collection is massive (approximately 65,000 items), it is reportedly unrevealing of the senator's motivations and backstage maneuverings. Besides newspaper clippings, speeches, and memorabilia, most of the collection consists of constituent correspondence, to which, Libbey admitted, Barkley's replies were "diplomatically, if not disappointingly non-committal." Although both authors supplemented their research with interviews of those who knew Barkley, neither could find the intimate personal and political correspondence, memoranda, and diaries so essential for writing a full and satisfactory account of such a major political figure.

As the newly-published journal of Hattie Caraway shows, in the absence of substantial senatorial paper collections, even the most meager of documents becomes important. For a brief period in the early 1930's, Caraway, the first woman elected to the Senate, was the most visible woman in America. By 1978, however, when a newsman covering Muriel Humphrey's swearing-in referred to "Cattie Haraway," few knew or cared about the error. In *Silent Hattie Speaks*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), Diane Kincaid has edited the journal that Caraway kept at her desk in the Senate Chamber from December 14, 1931, to June 9, 1932, not to present the senator as a strong feminist or forceful legislative leader, which she was not, but to rescue her from underserved obscurity.

Aside from a very small collection of miscellaneous items at the University of Arkansas, there are no Caraway papers. Without Kincaid's useful introduction and biographical essay which draw heavily on personal interviews, the journal itself, including extensive headnotes and footnotes, is a mere 96 pages. Most of the entries are brief and routine but occasionally they offer insight into Caraway's perception of her position in the Senate. Upon being told that she had been assigned the same seat once used by the first appointed woman senator, Rebecca Felton of Georgia, Caraway caustically noted, "I guess they wanted as few of them contaminated as possible."

SENATORS' BIOGRAPHIES

Of the 764 persons who completed Senate service between 1900 and 1979, 276 served twelve years or more. Of this number, 136 have been the subjects of published biographies or doctoral dissertations. Many of these publications are included in the 1977 edition of *The United States Senate: A Historical Bibliography*. Copies of this seventy-eight page publication are still available, without cost, from the Senate Historical Office.

Brochures on Historic Capitol Rooms Available

Two recently restored historic rooms in the United States Capitol come alive once again in handsomely illustrated, sixteen page brochures prepared by the Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities. The richly appointed old Senate Chamber served as the grand theater of Americal political debate from 1810 to 1859. Architectural drawings as well as contemporary and modern photographs highlight the room's political, social, and decorative history.

The chamber that housed the Supreme Court from 1810 to 1860 was badly damaged in 1814 when occupying British troops heaped up furniture and documents at war's end and set it aflame. Rebuilt at war's end to include a vaulted "pumpkin shell" ceiling, the chamber again blazed with the legal brillance of giants of American jurisprudence such as Daniel Webster, John Marshall, and Roger Taney.

Free copies of both brochures can be obtained by writing the Commission on Art and Antiquities, United States Senate, Washington, D.C., 20510.

Congressional Case Files

In his paper, "Managing Case Files in Congressional Collections: The Hazards of Prophecy," presented at the September 1979 national meeting of the Society of American Archivists, Frank Mackaman argues for the retention of congressional case files. Mackaman, archivist of the Dirksen Center, urges archivists to rethink their priorities and not to automatically discard items previously considered of marginal research value. The prophecies of old regarding future research interest may no longer be valid. Perhaps, he suggests, the archival crystal ball needs dusting.

Defining case files as those concentrating on services to constituents, such as immigration, social security, military, patronage, and public works, Mackaman suggests that new computer-assisted research strategies may convert such files into potentially fruitful source material. They could reveal why and when citizens turn to elected officials for help and how responsive executive agencies are to such appeals.

Though acknowledging that problems, such as privacy, competing demands on space and time, and underuse, might make the retention of these files questionable, Mackaman suggests that these could and should be overcome. Copies of the 14-page paper can be obtained by writing: Frank Mackaman, The Dirksen Center, Broadway and Fourth, Pekin, Illinois, 61554. For a dissenting view, see David Wigdor's comments in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Research Use and Disposition of Senators' Papers*, September 1978, page 55.

Correction

Senate History #2 appeared with an incorrect date. It should have been "May 1979."